

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 LONDON 08278 251338Z  
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W  
-----113093 251339Z /64

O P 251328Z MAY 78  
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6481  
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA IMMEDIATE  
SECDEF WASHDC IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY BONN PRIORITY

S E C R E T LONDON 08278

EXDIS

E.O.11652: XGDS-1  
TAGS: MOPS, PINR, PINT, CG, UK  
SUBJECT: ZAIRE: NEXT STEPS

REF: STATE 130717

1. CHARGE BRIEFED ACTING FOREIGN SECRETARY FRANK JUDD AND MINISTER OF STATE TED ROWLANDS MAY 24 ON CURRENT U.S. THINKING ON NEXT STEPS IN ZAIRE. IN EXTENDED DISCUSSION WITH ROWLANDS, HE OFFERED HIS INITIAL VIEW, UNCLEARED WITH DAVID OWEN OR THE CABINET, THAT BRITAIN COULD NOT AFFORD TO PARTICIPATE IN THE FORMATION OF A FORCE TO PROVIDE SECURITY FOR SHABA. HOWEVER, ROWLANDS MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE GOVERNMENT IS INTERESTED IN PARTICIPATING IN CONSULTATIONS WITH THE U.S., BELGIUM AND FRANCE ON THE UNDERSTANDING THAT THEY WOULD BE KEPT LOW-KEY, PERHAPS TAKING PLACE ON THE FRINGES OF OTHER MEETINGS LIKE THE NATO SUMMIT AND USSOD MEETINGS.

2. ROWLANDS SAID THE BELGIANS HAD JUST PROVIDED THEIR  
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FOUR OPTIONS (BRUSSELS 9852) AND HAD ASKED ONLY FOR BRITISH REACTIONS. ROWLANDS DREW ON A MESSAGE HE WAS SENDING TO OWEN IN BONN TO BRIEF US ON FOLLOWING TENTATIVE VIEWS:

(A) ZAIRIAN FORCE. ROWLANDS ACCEPTED THAT NOT MUCH RELIANCE COULD BE PLACED ON THE FAZ. HOWEVER, HE THOUGHT ONE POSSIBILITY, PERHAPS IN COMBINATION WITH OTHER STEPS,

MIGHT BE TO REORGANIZE AND STRENGTHEN THE ZAIRIAN MILITARY THROUGH THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A LARGE MILITARY ADVISORY PRESENCE INVOLVING THE FRENCH AND MAYBE OTHERS. A POTENTIAL DIFFICULTY MIGHT BE BELGIAN SENSITIVITY.

(B) INTERNATIONAL AFRICAN FORCE. ROWLANDS FELT THIS OPTION OFFERED POSSIBILITIES, BUT THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY ATTRACT ONLY THE FRANCOPHONE COUNTRIES. HE SAID THE UK WAS GETTING VERY NEGATIVE READINGS ON THIS ISSUE FROM THE ANGLOPHONE COUNTRIES, PARTICULARLY ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA. HIS ASSESSMENT WAS THAT THERE WOULD BE STRONG RESISTENCE FROM THE ANGLOPHONE COUNTRIES TO BEING INVOLVED IN SUCH A FORCE. THIS WOULD HAVE THE EFFECT, HE SAID, OF LIMITING THE UK'S ROOM FOR MANEUVER, ESPECIALLY IN LIGHT OF THE NEED FOR THEIR COOPERATION ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES. ROWLANDS THUS DOUBTED WHETHER A COMBINED AFRICAN FORCE WAS A REAL POSSIBILITY UNDER AN OAU HAT, BUT HE THOUGHT THAT PERHAPS FOUR OR FIVE AFRICAN COUNTRIES MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO ASSIST. ROWLANDS ALSO SAID THAT SINCE THERE IS NO POTENTIAL SUCCESSOR TO MOBUTU ON THE SCENE, WE SHOULD CONSIDER FORCING POLITICAL REFORMS ON HIM AS THE PRICE FOR SUPPORT.

(C) INTERNATIONAL WESTERN FORCE. ROWLANDS SAID THIS WAS A "NON-STARTER."

(D) FRENCH-BELGIAN FORCE. AGAIN, ROWLANDS FELT THIS OPTION DID NOT OFFER ANY REAL POSSIBILITY. HE ALSO REFERRED TO CALLAGHAN'S PUBLIC STATEMENT MAY 23 EXPRESSING  
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HOPE THAT THE FRENCH WOULD PULL OUT SOON.

3. ROWLANDS, FINALLY, SAID HE WOULD APPRECIATE ANY INFORMATION WE COULD PROVIDE ON THE ALLEGATION BY SENATOR CLARK OF PLANS FOR U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN ANGOLA.

4. ROWLANDS' COMMENTS REFLECTED THE FLUID CHARACTER OF CURRENT BRITISH THINKING, BUT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THE FCO WILL WELCOME FURTHER U.S. VIEWS AND WILL BE READY TO SHARE ITS THINKING WITH US.

STREATOR

SECRET

NNN

## Message Attributes

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**Copy:** SINGLE  
**Draft Date:** 25 may 1978  
**Decaption Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Decaption Note:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED  
**Disposition Approved on Date:**  
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a  
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW  
**Disposition Date:** 20 Mar 2014  
**Disposition Event:**  
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**Review Markings:**  
Sheryl P. Walter  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
20 Mar 2014  
**Markings:** Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014